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South Africa, is the best part of the book. The chief points discussed are the uniform adoption of "responsible" government in the federations—though not always in the constituent states; the confidence in the legislatures, so strongly in contrast with recent American practice and theory, and the ease of constitutional amendment.

The last two-thirds of the book are taken up with reprints of constitutional documents illustrating the former attempts at colonial unions and the constitutions of the three great confederations of English colonies.

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Farrand, Max. (Ed.). *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.*

Three vols. Pp. xxv, 606, 667, 685. Price, \$15.00. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911.

At first sight it might appear as truly remarkable that not until the present year, nearly a century and a quarter after the adjournment of the federal convention, has a comprehensive and trustworthy collection of the available material relating thereto been assembled and issued in a single work. To one familiar with the history of the records and literature of the convention and the inherent difficulties attendant upon such a task it is not surprising. Its successful accomplishment by Mr. Farrand in the collection under review, therefore, is recognized as a noteworthy achievement.

The incomplete and confused papers kept by the secretary of the convention, William Jackson, were turned over by him after first destroying "all the loose scraps of paper," to Washington, who subsequently deposited them in the Department of State. These, however, were not given to the public until 1819, when, in consequence of an act of Congress, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, undertook the difficult task of collating and editing them. With the assistance of a few of the delegates he prepared a connected "Journal" of the convention. Owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the memoranda, this, the official journal of the convention, contained a number of mistakes, "not a few of which were important," as, for example, the inclusion of the incorrect plan furnished by Pinckney and the wrong assignment of votes, which had been kept on separate sheets. (Cf. I, 32.)

When the seal of secrecy had thus been broken, there followed in 1821 the publication of Yates's "Secret Proceedings and Debates," covering the earlier work of the convention. This was the first of a series of notes and records to be published, which together "far surpass the journal in value." Nothing further of this nature, however, was made public until after Madison's death (1836), when his elaborate notes were purchased by the government and in 1840 were published.—"At once," Mr. Farrand truly observes, "all other records paled into insignificance," for Madison's notes, after taking into consideration all other sources now available, still constitute our chief authority for the proceedings of the convention.

During the next half century not much additional contemporary material was made accessible. The accounts of the work of the convention, written by the historians Bancroft, Curtis and others were principally based on

these sources, and their interpretation of its proceedings was generally accepted as correct. Little critical study of the texts of these documents was attempted, nor was any notable effort to assemble a collection of all the notes and memoranda of the delegates undertaken. It was not until men who had been trained in the canons of the modern school of historical scholarship took up the investigation afresh that much additional material was published or new discoveries made. To Dr. J. F. Jameson, who has been pre-eminent in this work, Mr. Farrand appropriately dedicates his collection.

The editor in undertaking this work aimed to accomplish two objects: First, the presentation of "the records of the convention in the most trustworthy form possible," and, secondly, to gather "all of the available records into a convenient and serviceable edition." The plan adopted in the accomplishment of these purposes has been the careful examination and faithful reproduction of the texts of the original manuscripts wherever attainable, as in the case of the "Journal," Madison's "Notes" and King's "Notes," or where the original manuscript has been lost, as is true of Yates's "Notes," from the original edition, or in several other cases from the most authentic texts previously published, such as the series of carefully edited notes and versions which have appeared in the "American Historical Review." All these supplementary records of the convention "take on a new importance," observes the editor, "in view of the fact that the 'Journal' is so imperfect and not altogether reliable and that Madison made so many changes in his manuscript."

The first two volumes contain the official and unofficial versions of the proceedings of the convention, "all the records of each day's session," being brought together, first the entry from the "Journal" for the day, followed by the extracts from Madison's "Notes" and the accounts of Yates, King, McHenry, Paterson, Pierce or any other delegate whose memoranda are applicable. The advantages and convenience of this arrangement are obvious, as it renders possible the ready examination of all the different versions of each day's proceedings, and the several accounts serve to supplement and check each other.

The care which Mr. Farrand has exercised to insure the accuracy of the texts is especially well illustrated in the case of Madison's "Debates," the manuscript of which presents various difficulties. Madison apparently made corrections in his notes after the publication of the "Journal," to harmonize his statements with those of the latter, which in many cases were erroneous. As he had made other changes previously, it is important to distinguish between them. Fortunately this can be done in most cases, as the ink used in inserting the later corrections has faded differently from that of the earlier alterations. To make this distinction apparent the editor has enclosed the later changes in brackets in his version of Madison's text. This is an improvement over any other edition including that in the "Documentary History of the Constitution," in which the attempt to reproduce a literal copy of the original was only partially successful, as no such distinction in the alterations was made.

The third volume is devoted to "supplementary records." These com-

prise a mass of material gathered from "the more obvious and accessible sources" which throw light on the proceedings of the convention. Appendix A contains four hundred and nineteen documents of varying character, chiefly consisting of the letters of delegates written during the sessions of the convention, or statements made by them subsequently, either publicly or in their private correspondence. Another appendix includes the list of the delegates, their credentials and a record of their attendance. It shows that while seventy-four were elected only fifty-five actually served, and many of these were in attendance only a portion of the time. The remaining appendices present the texts of the chief plans before the convention, and all that is known of their origin.

Although the greater number of these documents had been previously printed, they have now for the first time been brought together from widely scattered publications to form a collection comprising nearly everything of value that relates to the work of the convention. Supplementing the texts are a wealth of notes, annotations and cross references to related documents, which greatly enhance the practical value of these volumes. Two indices are provided the one to the clauses of the constitution the other general in character. By means of the first it is possible to trace the evolution of a particular clause. The general index is the only unsatisfactory feature of the work, as it is not sufficiently comprehensive. An exhaustive index was probably thought unnecessary, in view of the index to the constitution and the numerous cross references employed.

It is fitting that due recognition should be accorded to the editor not only for the accuracy and breadth of his scholarship, but also for the painstaking industry required in attending to all the laborious details of the truly stupendous task of assembling, editing and seeing through the press this monumental work. It is destined to be recognized as the standard and definitive edition of the work of the most notable constitutional body ever assembled on this continent.

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Fisher, H. A. L. *The Republican Tradition in Europe*. Pp. xii, 363. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.

Essays such as these are attractive both on account of their subject matter and because of their literary form. They do not attempt to be exhaustive discussions but to sketch the main outlines of a movement which has now, as the author tells us, done its work and survives in the normal European mind only as a tradition.

The middle ages are dismissed with two short chapters. The monarchical form of government supported by the church, was accepted with but little question. Political thought strongly influenced by political conditions had no room for development. Even in Italy the city republics were essentially unrepublican in the modern sense. Nor did the Protestant revolt break down the reverence for monarchy—indeed, at least at first its leaders were